



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Some Difficult Passages in the Cuneiform Account of the Deluge.—By PAUL HAUPT, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

I. — One of the most difficult passages in the cuneiform account of the Deluge is the beginning of the story of the Babylonian Noah, contained in lines 11—15 of my edition.¹ This section begins: *Âl Sûrîpak, âlu ša tidûšu atta, ina kišâdi nâr Purâti šaknu*, which is generally translated: The city of Suripak, the city which thou knowest, is situated on the bank of the Euphrates; see *e. g.* Geo. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, edited by A. H. Sayce (London, 1880) p. 279. Similarly Jules Oppert, *Le poème chaldéen du déluge* (Paris, 1885) p. 7 rendered: *Il est une ville de Surippak, que tu connais; elle est située sur les bords de l'Euphrate*. François Lenormant, *Les origines de l'histoire* (Paris, 1880) p. 601 has: *La ville de Schourippak ville que tu la connais sur l'Euphrate existe*.

The site of the ancient city of Suripak, the most primitive Sumerian settlement known to us, was discovered, eight years ago, in the ruins of *Fâra*, N of *Warka* = Erech, SE of *Nuffar* = Nippur.² At the time of the Flood, Suripak was situated on the Euphrates, and the Persian Gulf extended as far north as Suripak. Just as the Crocodile Lake and the Bitter Lakes in Egypt formed the northern end of the Red Sea at the time of the Exodus,³ so Lake *Nâjaf*, which is now practically dry,⁴ was the northern end of the Persian Gulf at the time of the Flood, or at the time when the story of the Flood originated in the third prechristian millennium (*cf.* UG 191). Ea bade Hasis-atra float his ship near the sea,⁵ *i. e.* at the former northern end of the Persian Gulf, W of Suripak. The Euphrates emptied at that time into Lake *Nâjaf*. Abulfedâ⁶ states that according to the ancients the Persian Gulf formerly stretched up to *Hîrah* on Lake Najaf, *i. e.* about 30 miles S

of Babylon.⁷ *Ḥirah* (cf. BL 118, n. *) was situated at 32° N, 44° 20' E, about 4 miles SE of the modern town *Nájaf*.

Jensen, in his *Kosmologie der Babylonier* (Strassburg, 1890) p. 369 translated: *Surippak, eine Stadt, die du kennst — am Ufer des Euphrat ist sie gelegen*. But this would be in Assyrian: *ina kišâdi* (or *axi*) *Purâti šakin*, not *šaknu*. The final *u* in *šaknu* shows that this is a relative clause (BA 1, 10). We have here two coördinated relative clauses: *âlu ša tîdûšu atta*, the city which thou knowest, and *ša ina kišâdi nâr Purâti šaknu*, which is situated on the bank of the Euphrates river; but the relative pronoun is not repeated before the second clause. Similarly we have in the last paragraph but one of the Code of Hammurapi:⁸ *çimma^m marça^m ša lâ ipâšaxu, âsû qiribšu lâ ilâmadu, ina çimdi lâ inâxuzu, kîma nişik mûti^m lâ innasaxu*, a malignant sore⁹ which does not heal, whose nature a physician cannot learn, which he cannot soothe with a bandage, which like a deadly bite cannot be extirpated.¹⁰ *Tîdûšu atta* cannot be regarded as a parenthesis;¹¹ in that case we should expect *tîdûšu atta*, not *tîdûšu*. The rendering *The city which, as thou knowest, lies on the Euphrates* (RBA 495; cf. JAOS 25, 79) is therefore inaccurate.

II. — The following two lines, *âlu šû lâbîr-ma ilâni qirbûšu ana šakân abûbi ûbla libbašunu ilâni rabûti*, are generally translated: That city was old, and the gods therein—their heart induced the great gods to make a deluge, or cyclone;¹² but *ilâni rabûti*, at the end, must be regarded as accusative depending on *ûbla*. The two lines are equivalent to *libbu ša ilâni qirib âl Šurîpak ûbla ilâni rabûti ana šakân abûbi*, the heart of the gods in Surîpak induced the great gods to make a cyclone. The *greads gods* are here distinguished from the local gods of *Surîpak*.¹³ *Ilâni* before *qirbûšu* is a *casus pendens*;¹⁴ the suffix of *libbašunu* refers to *ilâni qirbûšu*.¹⁵ *Ilâni rabûti*, however, does not stand in apposition to *ilâni qirbûšu*, but is an accusative depending on *ûbla*. The queens induced the great kings to make a fight would be in Assyrian: *šarrâti ana epêš tuquntî*¹⁶ *ûbla libbušin šarrâni rabûti*; and The queen induced the great king to make a fight would be: *šarratu ana epêš tuquntî ûbla libbuša šarra rabâ*.

The accusative *ilâni rabûti* is on a par with the suffix *-ni* in *minâ libbaša ûblânî*, What does she want me to do? in the

Descent of Istar (obv. l. 31).¹⁷ Jensen (KB 6, 83) translates: *Was hat ihr "Inneres (hervor)gebracht," was hat [ihren] Bau[ch bewegt]? and in the commentary (KB 6, 395): Was hat ihr Inneres mir hervorgebracht = Was hat sie gegen mich ersonnen?* Ungnad (TB 65) disregards the suffix -nî, translating: *Wozu hat ihr Herz sie veranlaßt, wozu hat ihr Sinn sie getrieben!* Delitzsch (HW 231^a) renders: *Womit hat sich ihr Herz gegen mich getragen? d. h. Was will sie von mir?* *Ûblânî* cannot mean *carried against me*, but only *carried me*.¹⁸ Similarly Nebuchadnezzar (iii, 19) says: *ana ebêšu Esagila našânî libbi*, my heart induced me to build Esagil.¹⁹ Delitzsch (HW 484^b; cf. 231^a, 317^a) has called attention to the fact that this phrase corresponds to the Biblical *něsa'ô libbô*, his heart stirred him up (GB 518^a, i).²⁰ In *uštâbil karassu* (or *çurrušu*) we have according to Delitzsch (HW 7^a) not the stem *uabâlu*, to bring, but the stem *abâlu* (AJSL 26, 235) to be full; see, however, KB 6, 320; SFG 66, 3. These phrases were discussed by Guyard in §§ 88 and 96 of his *Notes de lexicographie assyrienne* (Paris, 1883). *Abâlu* and *našû* in this connection correspond to the Arabic *hâmala* (*hâmalahu* 'âlâ 'l-'amri = 'agrâhu).

Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch* (Leipzig, 1903) p. 84 renders: *Surippak, die Stadt, welche du kennst, [welche am Ufer] des Euphrat gelegen ist, jene Stadt besteht seit alters, die Götter in ihr. Einen Flutsturm zu machen trieb ihr Herz an die großen Götter; but ilâni qirbûšu must be combined with the following line. Jensen (KB 6, 231) gives the meaningless translation: die Götter in ihr die Sturmflut zu machen "brachte hervor" ihr Herz, die großen Götter. The verb abâlu does not mean to produce, but to induce. According to Jensen (KB 6, 320, below; cf. p. 316) libbu in this connection does not mean heart, but abdominal cavity (cf. JBL 19, 76, n. 99). I have discussed some of Jensen's peculiar renderings in JAOS 22, 19 (cf. also 16, cxi; AJSL 19, 199;²¹ 26, 15, 24; ZDMG 63, 517).²²*

Ungnad's *die Götter standen ihr nahe* (TB 50; UG 53) is very improbable. *Qarâbu* means in Assyrian *to attack* (cf. Syr. *ittagrâb*, to be attacked; contrast AJSL 23, 243) and *karâbu* (= *barâku*) means *to be propitious, to bless* (GB 358^b). Nor does Zimmern's former reading *lâ bîr*, corrupt, lit. *impure*,²³ instead of *lâbîr*, old, commend itself (cf. KB 6, 482, l. 1). I pointed out

in BA 1, 325 that *lābiru*, old, was probably a compound with prefixed *lā*, not; cf. *barāru*, to be bright (HW 187^b) and Heb. *bar*, pure. I mentioned Zimmern's conjecture in my (unpublished) translation (printed in 1895) of the cuneiform account of the Deluge, which I had prepared for the third edition of Schrader's KAT, and Jastrow adopted it in RBA 495 (cf. JAOS 25, 70; ZDMG 64, 711, l. 18).

If my translation of ll. 13. 14 of the Flood Tablet is correct, the great gods were induced by the local gods of Suripak¹³ to send a cyclone. Just as we have here the gods of Suripak, so we find the gods of Erech in the fragment K 3200 (NE 51, 11) which I translated in JAOS 22, 8 (cf. ZDMG 64, 712, l. 8).²⁴

III. — A desperate passage is the beginning of l. 15. This is preserved exclusively in the Babylonian fragment S. P. II, 960 (NE 121, 15) which I published thirty years ago, from a copy made by Pinches, in my inaugural lecture *Der keilinschriftliche Sintflutbericht* (Leipzig, 1881). I read there *māla bašû*, as many as there were; but *bašû* would be written *ba-šu-u*, and if *ilāni rabûti* and *māla bašû* belonged together, *ilāni rabûti* would not stand at the end of the preceding line.

In his *Kosmologie* (1890) Jensen read *ibāšû*, there were their father Anu, &c; and Zimmern made the same mistake in Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895) p. 423. Even Ungnad (TB 50) rendered: *und zwar waren es*.²⁵ Also R. W. Rogers, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (New York, 1908) has: *There were their father Anu*, while he translates the preceding lines: *Shuripak, a city which thou knowest, which lies on the bank of the Euphrates. That city was very old, and the heart of the gods within it drove them to send a flood, the great gods.* But *ibāšû* would mean *they will be*, not *they were*. The passage NE 67, 68,²⁶ to which Jensen referred in his commentary, is quite different: there *ibāšî* means *there will be*. Similarly *kîma îli tabāšî* (NE 3, 7; 12, 34) means *thou wilt be like a god*, not *thou art like a god*, as Jensen (KB 6, 127, 34) and Ungnad (UG 12, 184) translate.²⁷ I added the translation *du wirst sein wie Gott* (NE 12, below) in 1883, in order to call attention to the similarity with *Eritis sicut Deus* in Gen. 3, 5.²⁸ Jastrow has since shown that the story of Eabani (or *Engidu*; cf. ZDMG 64, 712, n. 2)

and the Woman is the prototype of the Biblical legend of the Fall of Man,²⁹ which symbolizes the first connubial intercourse.³⁰

Nor can we read, with KB 6, 230, *qir-ba-šu* at the beginning of l. 15. In the first place, we should expect *qirbûšu*, as in l. 13, and then, the characters *ba-šu* are extremely doubtful. According to iv R² the two signs are *is* (*giš*) and *mal* (*kit, bit*). A. Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod* (Leipzig, 1891) p. 33 supplied at the beginning of l. 15: *es hielten Rat*, they held a council, took counsel together, Heb. *uaj-juu'a'ăçû* (2 Chr. 30, 23). This would be in Assyrian: *imdâlkû* for *imtâlikû*.³¹ Ungnad (UG 53, below) is inclined to supply *es treten zusammen*, they assemble. But the traces preserved do not lend themselves either to *imdâlkû*, *imtâlikû*, they took counsel, or to *paxrû*, *iptâxrrû*, they assembled (NE 49, 197; 141, 162).

I am inclined to read *u-ka-pid*; the traces before *mal* = *bit*, *pit* may be the remnant of the Babylonian character for *ka*. Professor R. F. Harper, who is working in the British Museum at present, has been kind enough to re-examine this tablet, and he informed me (on April 4, 1911) that the reading [*u-k*]a-*pid* was at least as good as any other. Winckler *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch* (1903) p. 84 read *bît abišunu*, their family, which is impossible. *Ukâpid*, for *ukappid*, would mean *he planned*; so the meaning would be: It was planned by their father Anu (lit. *es plante es ihr Vater Anu*). I have shown in JAOS 25, 73 (1904) that we must read in l. 5 of the Flood Tablet: *gummur ka[pâd] libbi ana epêš tuquntî*,¹⁶ Whole is the striving of the heart to make war, or *eager is the desire of thy heart to do battle*.

Assyr. *kapâdu* means especially *to plot*, to conspire, to bring on some disaster. In Syriac this stem appears, with partial assimilation of the *d* to the *p*, as *kappit*, to knot, to tie in a knot. The Qal is used of plants forming knots; cf. German *Fruchtknoten* and Goethe's translation of Cant. 2, 13: *der Feigenbaum knotet* (BL 105) for Heb. *hat-tênâh hanêtâh pag-gêhâ*. German *Knoten* is connected with *Knospe*, *Knopf*, *Knorren*, *Knödel*, *Knute*. Luther has Ex. 9, 31: *der Flachs (hatte) Knoten gewonnen* for Heb. *hap-pištâh gîl'ôl*; AV, the flax was bollen; the noun *boll*, which is merely an earlier spelling of *bowl*, denotes a rounded pod or capsule. For the semasiological development cf. Heb. *qašûr*, to tie, to conspire. In post-

Biblical Hebrew this verb means also *to resolve*. For the post-Biblical noun *qäšr*, knot, cf. Assy. *qiçru*, knot, Ethiop. *queçr*. In Arabic we find *kábada*, to plan (syn. *qáçada*) which may stand for *kápada* with partial assimilation of the *p* to the *d*; ³² it can hardly be a denominative verb derived from *kábid*, liver. The original form of *kabid*, liver, was *kabit*, just as Heb. *abád*, to perish, was originally *abat* (BA 1, 2).

IV. — In ll. 19—22 of the account of the Deluge we read that Ea, the Lord of Unfathomable Wisdom, sat (in counsel) ³³ with the gods and revealed their plan to the reed-huts, ³⁴ saying: Reed-hut, reed-hut! brick-house, brick-house! Reed-hut, hear! brick-house, pay attention! This has been correctly explained in HW 327^b. The reed-hut denotes the hovels of the lower classes, and the brick-house represents the dwellings of the upper classes; ³⁵ so Ea announced the plan of the great gods to rich and poor alike, but only to Hasis-atra he gave in a dream special indications showing him how he might save himself. All people could see that a seismic catastrophe was imminent, ³⁶ but Hasis-atra was the only one who took the necessary precautions.

Assyr. *qiqqišu* is a synonym of *xuççu* = Arab. *xuçç*, cottage, cabin, booth (ZK 1, 347) and Assyr. *igaru*, brick-wall, stands for *higaru* (cf. Arab. *hijr*, wall, and *hajar*, stone). Also Assyr. *agurru*, or *agûru*, burnt brick, which has passed into Arabic as *ajûr* (or *îajûr*) stands for *hagûru*. ³⁷ Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter* (Leyden, 1886) p. 5 pointed out that in the *Kitâb al-Ağânî* (xvi, 43, 3; cf. Divan Huðeil. 66, 10; Nâbiga 7, 16) a hut of reeds (*xuçç*) is contrasted with a house of brick (*ajûr*) and plaster, just as *qiqqišu* = *xuççu* is contrasted with *igaru* (for *higaru*) brick-wall, brick-house, in the present passage of the Flood Tablet. Assyr. *qiqqišu* (for *qišqišu*) is connected with Heb. *qaš*, straw, stubble, Aram. *qaššâ*, which has passed into Arabic as *qašš*; cf. the post-Biblical *qašqaššim*, stubble, litter, shake-down, and *qiššôšēt* (or *qîššôšēt*) stalk of grain, straw.

CT 14, 48 (No. 36, 331) gives several Sumerian equivalents of *qiqqišu*. ³⁸ The first (Sum. *gi-ru-a*) means a structure (Assyr. *tabannû*) of reeds. The second (Sum. *gi-dim*) has the same meaning (= Assyr. *riksat qanî*). The third (Sum. *gi-sik*) ³⁹ designates the reed-hut as a slight, frail (Assyr. *enšu*) struc-

ture of reeds.⁴⁰ Assy. *enšu* is used especially of tumble-down (*qa'âpu*)⁴¹ buildings; so Sum. *gi-sig* is a *mean habitation*, a humble cottage, a poorly constructed cabin, a frail thatched structure. Sum. *sik* means also *small*, Assy. *çixru* (= Heb. *çâ'îr*) and *qatnu* (= Heb. *qatân*).

W. Andrae⁴² says that the walls of the "houses" of the laborers at *Kalah Shergât* (Aššur) consist of very light mats of rushes; cf. Meissner's remarks⁴³ on the modern Babylonian *çarîfah*, i. e. an arched structure of reeds and reed-mats, fenced in with reeds, whereas the *maftûl*, a round tower where the people seek refuge in times of danger, is built of bricks. The reed-huts were especially endangered by a cyclone; the *qiqqišû* are therefore mentioned first in l. 20 of the Flood Tablet; but the tidal wave threatened also the brick houses.

The translation of this difficult passage, which I gave, 23 years ago, in BA 1, 123. 320, and which Jensen (KB 6, 483) calls *sonderbar*, is still nearer the truth than the latest efforts of Jensen, Ungnad, &c. Jensen's idea⁴⁴ that Ea spoke to the wall of a reed-house, and that the wall communicated this message in a dream to Hasis-atra, who slept behind the wall, is untenable. Ea did not communicate in a dream the decision of the gods to send a cyclone; this was made known to all the people, both rich and poor; but the instructions showing Hasis-atra how he might save himself were communicated to him by Ea in a dream. The story of Midas' barber (who dug a hole in the ground, whispering into it: King Midas has ass's ears) affords no parallel.

The repetition of the words *qiqqiš qiqqiš igar igar* is equivalent to *every reed-hut and every brick-house* (GK, § 123, c). The "construct" in distributive repetitions corresponds to the "absolute" state in Syriac⁴⁵ and to the forms without nûnation in Arabic phrases like *baïta baïta, ïauma ïauma*.⁴⁶ I have pointed out the connection between the "construct" in Assyrian and the "absolute state" in Syriac on p. 113, below, of the Crit. Notes on Isaiah (SBOT).⁴⁷

V. — In my paper on the beginning of NE⁴⁸ I stated that *parîsu* in l. 65 of the account of the Deluge meant *mast*, more accurately *pole-mast*, not *setting pole*.⁴⁹ This interpretation is not at variance with the tenth tablet of NE where we read that Nimrod and the ferryman of Hasis-atra used 120 *parîse*,

each 60 cubits (about 100 feet) long, to get across the Waters of Death. Gressmann's idea (UG 138) that Nimrod built a hanging bridge of the 120 pole-masts is grotesque. How could Nimrod build a hanging bridge across the Waters of Death without fastening the end on the other side? A rope bridge of rushes would have been more natural than a hanging bridge of 120 enormous pole-masts. According to Gressmann this hanging bridge served as a passageway between the boat and the shore of the Island of the Blessed; but this gangway would have been more than two miles long (*cf.* JAOS 22, 10, n. 6).

Nimrod did not construct a hanging bridge out of the 120 long pole-masts, but he used them as setting poles to push the boat through the Waters of Death (*cf. ratem conto subigit*, Virg. *Æn.* 6, 302). Setting poles are still employed in Babylonia. Meissner⁵⁰ states that he was transported to Nippur in a boat by two boys who used bamboo stems, with an asphalt ball at one end, as setting poles. Bamboo stems may be over 100 feet long, and nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ ft. thick. They are often used as masts. Nimrod, it may be supposed, could not sail across the Waters of Death because there was a dead calm. The water was nearly 100 feet deep, and whenever Nimrod touched the boggy bottom with one of his poles, he could not lift it up again, so that he was compelled to take a fresh pole. They stuck in the quagmire at the bottom of the Waters of Death;⁵¹ *cf.* Virgil's lines, *Æn.* 6, 295—297:

Hinc via, Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas.

*Turbidus hic caeno vastaue voragine gurgēs
aestuāt, atque omnem Coccyto cructat arenam;*

and 415. 416:

*Tandem trans fluvium incolumis ratemque virumque
informi limo glaucaeque exponit in ulva.*

Finally, when the 120 poles were gone, Nimrod unstepped the mast of his boat and used it as a setting pole. This enabled him to land at the Island of the Blessed.

The Ferryman was wont to take along a chest full of stones. In *šud*⁵² *abne* the first word is connected with the Talmudic *šiddāh*, chest, box. The stones in this chest were *eivai* which served as anchors. The most ancient anchors consisted of large stones. Ordinary stones, however, could not be used for this purpose; they had to be provided with holes to attach hawsers to them. He would attach a hawser to one of them

and throw it into the bog as far away as possible from the bow of the boat; then he hauled the boat up to it. In this way he was able to warp the boat across the Waters of Death. Warping anchors (German *Warpanker*) are known as *kedges*, and the hawsers attached to them are called *kedge-ropes*. In the case of a large vessel the kedge is carried out in a boat, and then dropped overboard, and the vessel hauled up to it; but the Ferryman had only a small boat; so he was compelled to throw the kedges as far away from the boat as possible.

After Nimrod had smashed the stones in the Ferryman's chest, it was difficult to obtain new large stones provided with holes. Therefore the Ferryman told Nimrod to cut 120 pole-masts. These were, of course, not carried in the boat, but towed through the water by means of a rope attached to the stern of the boat. They probably used the kedging-rope for this purpose. This, I think, is the solution of the mystery of the stones and the pole-masts.

VI. — I have explained some difficult passages of the Flood Tablet in my lecture on *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 3, ll. 18—20; p. 30, nn. 32—36;⁵⁴ also in *AJSL* **24**, 128, n. †; 143, *ad* v. 3;⁵⁵ **26**, 15. 16. 24. 25, nn. 60—67; *ZDMG* **61**, 276, ll. 20. 43;⁵⁶ **63**, 516, l. 42—517, l. 32;⁵⁶ **64**, 711, ll. 15—30;⁵⁷ *cf.* 714, ll. 3. 8. 15. The first seven lines of the Flood Tablet were explained in *JAOS* **25**, 68—75. For the phrase *siriām nadāta elī ʿirika*, armor thou hast placed upon thy body, lit. *upon thy back*, we must remember that we use *back* in the same way. Shakespeare says: *I bought you a dozen of shirts to your back*; cf. our vulgar phrase *to keep a person back and belly*, i. e. to keep him in clothes and food. *To back* was formerly used in the sense of *to clothe*. Ungnad's renderings *Gänzlich ist dein Wesen dazu angetan zu streiten, und dennoch pflegst du, auf deinem Rücken liegend, der Ruhe!* (TB 50) or *Gänzlich ist mein Wesen dazu geschaffen, Kampf zu führen; du aber bist müßig, auf deinem Rücken liegend* (UG 53) are impossible.

Ungnad also adheres to the untenable rendering *measures*, although I showed 24 years ago that *mînāti* in the third line of the Flood Tablet means *looks, appearance*.⁵⁸ This rendering has been adopted also by Jastrow (RBA) and Rogers.⁵⁹ Lines 28. 29 should be rendered: *The ship which thou art to build, let her lines be long, and let her width equal her depth*⁶⁰

—*mindudâ* = *middudâ*, *mitdudâ*, the reflexive stem of *ma'dâdu*, corresponding to Arab. *imtâdda*, to be extended, to be long. *Madâdu*, to measure, is a denominative verb which means originally *to ascertain the extent of a thing*. According to ll. 58. 59 both width and height of the Babylonian Ark were 120 cubits or about 200 feet, and the length was considerably more. Cf. my paper on the dimensions of the Babylonian Ark, AJP 9, 422.¹²

Notes.

(1) See Haupt, *Das babylonische Nimrodepos* (Leipzig, 1891) p. 134. For the name *Nimrod* see my article on Adar and Elul in ZDMG 64, p. 712, n. 2. The abbreviations used in the present article are explained in vol. xxviii of this JOURNAL, p. 101, n. 6; p. 112, n. 1; cf. ZDMG 64, 703, n. 1. Note especially GE = P. Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur* (Straßburg, 1906).—TB = Hugo Gressmann, *Alt-orientalische Texte und Bilder* (Tübingen, 1909).—UG = A. Ungnad und H. Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Göttingen, 1911).—RBA = M. Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898).

(2) See MDOG, No. 16, p. 14, n. *; UG 79. 191.

(3) See OLZ 12, 245. 249. 251; ZDMG 63, 529, ll. 6. 29.

(4) See B. Meißner, *Von Babylon nach den Ruinen von Hira und Huarnaq* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 12, l. 4; p. 18, l. 10; p. 20, l. 1. Cf. OLZ 12, 68, n. 6.

(5) Despite the statement in l. 9 of the so-called Nippur fragment of the Babylonian Deluge story, *çulûla danna çullil*, Roof with a strong roof (JAOS 31, 31; UG 73. 212) we must translate l. 31 of the Flood tablet, [e]ma *apsî šâši çullilši* (NE 135, 31): Float her near the (fresh-water) sea, i. e. Lake *Nâjaf*. Assy. *çalâlu* is a synonym of *utûlu* (= *nutâ'ulu* = *nutahhulu*). Cf. NE 50, 208: *utûlû-ma edlê ina ma'âl mûši çallû*, The men lay down and rested on the night couches. For *utûlu* and *ma'âlu* see my paper on the Heb. stem *nahâl*, to rest, AJSL 22, 195. 199. For *çalâlu* cf. my remarks on Heb. *çalâlû* (Ex. 15, 10) in AJSL 20, 162. Contrast KAT², 69, l. 5; UG 53, l. 31. *Ema* (HW 79^a) = Heb. 'im, Arab. *ma'a* (e. g. *ma'a 'l-hâ'itî*, along the wall).

(6) See Guyard, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, vol. ii, part 2 (Paris, 1883) p. 73. The Arabic text (p. 299, below, of the

Paris edition) reads as follows: الحيرة على موضع يقال له النجف زعم الاوائل ان بسكر فارس كان يتصل به وبينهما اليوم مسافة بعيدة. *Nājaḥ* means *dam, dike*. Cf. OLZ 12, 251; ZDMG 63, 521, n. 42.

(7) Cf. A. Sprenger, *Babylonien* (Heidelberg, 1886) pp. 33. 45. 73. See also Haupt, *Über die Ansiedlung der russischen Juden im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiete* (Baltimore, 1892) p. 16. Contrast H. Wagner, *Die Überschätzung der Anbaufläche Babyloniens*, pp. 289—296 (Proceedings of the Royal Society of Göttingen, 1902, part 2).

(8) See R. F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi* (Chicago, 1904) p. 108; H. Winckler, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis* (Leipzig, 1904) p. 83, ll. 57—63.

(9) Assy. *ṣimmu marṣu* = Heb. *makkâh nahlâh* (Nah. 3, 19). *Ṣimmu* may be connected with Arab. *ṣamma*, to strike (cf. *ṣammama* 's-saifu). It could stand also for *ṣimu* = Arab. *ḍaim*, hurt, injury, oppression; but this is less probable. Nor can it be combined with Arab. زحمة, *zâhmah, zuḥmah*, trouble, disease.

(10) For the omission of the relative pronoun cf. GK, § 116, x; Duval, *Grammaire syriaque* (Paris, 1881) § 401.

(11) Nor is *tâmur âtâmar* (KB 6, 265) in the last column of the twelfth tablet a parenthesis; see BA 1, 69, n. **; GE 53, n. 6; TB 61; UG 68.

(12) Cf. HW 4*; UG 53. 57. 59; E. Suess, *Die Sintflut* (Prag, 1883) pp. 21. 24. 44—49. 54. 68; also the remarks at the end of my paper *The Dimensions of the Babylonian Ark* in AJP 9, 424. Praetorius' combination of *abûbu* with Arab. *habûb* (KAT², 66, 19) may be correct (cf. Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 389). The catastrophe was caused chiefly by Enlil, and he was the god of storms; Ea, the god of the sea, saved Hasis-atra, but he could not prevent the cyclone. *Enlil* = *bêl šâri*, lord of the wind; it does not mean *lord of the plain*; contrast PSBA 33, 78; cf. *ibid.* p. 80, and below, end of n. 20.

(13) The chief deity of Suripak seems to have been *Sukurru*; cf. MDOG, No. 16, p. 14, n. *; Thureau-Dangin, *Les inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad* (Paris, 1905) p. 215, No. III; German edition (Leipzig, 1907) p. 151, below. This deity may have been the consort of Enlil; cf. BA 5, 537, l. 18, and p. 554, below; UG 79, below; RBA, German edition, p. 55. It is possible that Enlil was induced by his consort

to send the cyclone (*cf.* ll. 120—122 of the Flood tablet, UG 56) just as Anu was instigated by Istar to send the celestial bull (UG 33, l. 94). It is noteworthy that we find in ll. 118. 163 *dingir max* (not *maġ!* *cf.* below, n. 39) the mighty deity = *bēlit ilāni*, the lady of the gods. The name *Ištar* (JAOS 28, 116) in l. 117 is a later adaptation. *Cf.* RBA, German edition, p. 82.

(14) See GK, § 143, b; WdG 2, 256; Driver, *Heb. Tenses* (1892) § 197.

(15) *Qirbūšu* is accusative, and *libbašunu* is nominative; *cf.* *iplax libbašunu*, their heart feared; *ikpuḍ libbašunu*, their heart planned; *kabittaki lipšax*, may thy mind be appeased; see HW 526^a. 346^a. 317^a; AG², pp. 188. 227.

(16) *Tuquntu* = *tuquntu*; *cf.* Heb. *mitqômém*. For secondary stems with prefixed *t* see ZDMG 63, 518, l. 37; *cf.* below, n. 33.

(17) The second hemistich was, it may be supposed, *minâ kabtassa iššî'ânâ*.

(18) In the phrase *Marduk ušadkâ-nî libba*, Marduk stirred up my heart (HW 216^b) the suffix *-nî* is dative (German, *Marduk regte mir an das Herz*). *Cf.* GK, § 117, x; WdG 2, 192, A. Gunkel, *Genesis* (1910) reads *uāi-îādeq* instead of *uāi-îāreq* in Gen. 14, 14, and combines this with the Assy. *deqû* (*cf.* GB 746^a). But Winckler's reading *deqû* (with *q*) is as unwarranted as his reading *nîšiq*, bite, instead of *nîšik* (see his edition of the Code of Hammurapi cited above, n. 8). If the Assyrian stem had a *q* instead of *k*, it might be identical with Arab. *dā'â*, *îad'û*; *cf.* *ârqâ* (Jer. 10, 11) for *âr'â*, earth; Assy. *raggu*, evil = Heb. *ra'*; see WZKM 23, 361, n. 4. The synonym of *raggu*, evil, *çenu* means originally *foolish*; *cf.* Heb. *nēbalāh*, folly, depravity, and *çenu*, sheep = Heb. *çôn* (ZDMG 65, 107, l. 9). For Arab. *dā'ua'* claim, lawsuit, *cf.* Assy. *rugummû* (HW 612; AJSL 26, 7).

(19) *Cf.* MDOG, No. 7, p. 2 and p. 3 of Meissner's paper cited above, n. 4.

(20) *Cf.* Ex. 25, 2; 35, 21. 26. 29; 36, 2. In 2 K 14, 11, on the other hand, we must read *uē-hiššî'ākā libbēka* (*cf.* Ob. 3). Stade was inclined to read *uē-issā'alā*. This *hiššî*, to lead astray, must be derived from the stem of *šau*, vanity, falsehood (*tertiae Aleph*). To the same stem belong Heb. *šā'ôn* (*cf.* JBL 26, 19. 44) and the Assy. synonym of *mexû*, gale: *šû* (NE 140,

n. 11; BA 1, 134). *Ittarik šû* means: the storm abated (*abate* means originally *to beat down*). Another word for *gale* is *kûku* (in ll. 46. 88) = Syr. *kaḫkîta*, whirlwind, tempest. Jensen (KB 6, 233. 235. 485) and Ungnad (UG 55) adhere to the translation *darkness*, which I suggested more than 22 years ago, but which I declared to be extremely doubtful (JHUC, No. 69, p. 18). I showed BA 1, 130 (printed in 1888) that we should restore at the beginning of l. 46: *ša âdânu Šamaš išâkanu-ma*, when the sun (not the Sun-god!) indicates the appointed time. The Sun-god did not reveal anything to Hasis-atra; contrast Zimmern, *Beiträge zur babyl Religion* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 88, n. 2; UG 195, n. 6, also pp. 200. 209. 213. *Mu'ir kûki ina lîlâti ušaznankunuši šamûtu kîbâti* means: The Ruler of the Whirlwind will cause to rain upon you in the evening a downpour of destruction. *Kîbâti* is the plural of *kîbtu*, a fem. of *kêbu*, *kîbu* = Syr. *kêbâ*, pain, grief; cf. Heb. *hik'îb* in 2 K 3, 19. If *kîbtu* were a derivative of the stem *kabâtu*, to be heavy (HW 317*) the fem. plural would be *kîbtâti*, not *kîbâti*. Jensen translates: *Schmutz-Regen*; Ungnad: *furchtbarer (?) Regen*. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, in thesis ix of his inaugural dissertation, derived *kîbâti* from *qâpu*, to fall into decay, go to ruin (HW 583*). For *mu'ir* = *mumâ'ir* see JBL 19, 58. The *mu'ir kûki* is Enlil; cf. above, n. 12. For the correct translation of ll. 43—45, which Jensen (KB 6, 233) and Ungnad (UG 54) have misunderstood, see Haupt, *Die akkadische Sprache* (Berlin, 1883) p. xli; JHUC, No. 69, p. 18. These lines do not contain an *infamous lie*, as Jensen (*Kosmol.* 405) says. At the beginning of l. 33 we may read *ezêb âli*. For *izîrânî* in l. 39 Jensen may compare GK, § 106, g.

(21) If Ungnad and Gressmann had considered this passage, they would not have rendered (UG 27. 109): *Schön ist ihr Schatten, ist voller Jubel*. I referred for *malî rîšâti* to Lat. *lucus laetissimus umbrae* &c. Nor does Ungnad (UG 8) seem to know my explanation of NE 8, 36. 37, given in BA 5, 471 (Friedrich's remarks in BA 5, 468—477 should have been cited in UG 1) and the interpretation of the description of the garden of the gods (UG 43, 164—167; cf. p. 163) which I gave in *Proverbs* 60, 30—40. For Gressmann's *Brunnenschwengel* (UG 103) see AJSL 23, 234.

(22) UG 60, 224—229; 62, 262 (cf. p. 141) practically repeats Jensen's meaningless translations.

(23) Cf. *lâ banîtu*, impurity (HW 180^a) or *lâ ullâti* (Zimmern, *Šurpu*, p. 53, below) and Heb. *lô-kén* &c.

(24) Gressmann's idea (UG 123, n. 5) that this text belongs to the myth of Irra and Išum (TB 71) is at variance with the line (NE 51, 17) *Ištar ana nakrišu ul išākan qaqqadsa*, Istar cannot resist its (the city's) enemy. Istar did not send an enemy against the city of Erech, but Erech was besieged by enemies for three years, and Istar could not make head (Heb. *naṭán rôš*; cf. GB 524^a, l) against them.

(25) The same reading was adopted by A. Jeremias in *Das AT im Lichte des Alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 228.

(26) Cf. KB 6, 216, 28; UG 46, 78. The end of this line may be read *iqátap ligna*, he plucks a thistly plant; cf. JAOS 22, 11, l. 4; KB 6, 250, l. 284; UG 62, 284. In Syriac, *lāgnā* denotes an artichoke. Pliny (19, 152; 20, 262) calls the artichoke *carduus* (Greek σκόλυμος). *Carduus benedictus*, the blessed thistle, was held in high esteem as a remedy for all manner of diseases. In Arabic, *laḡīn* denotes leaves (of thorny gum-acacias, Arab. *ḡalḡ*) used as food for camels; see G. Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben* (Berlin, 1897) pp. 13. 240. For the Assyrian stem *lagānu* see HW 373^a; also Zimmern's *Beitr. zur bab. Rel.* 176, 18. In S^c 2 (AL³, 77) *ligittu* (for *ligintu*) appears as a synonym of *nībittu* (cf. NE 147, 295). *Nībittu* stands for *maḡbattu*, and means *interlacement, intertwining, interwoven foliage*; cf. Heb. 'éç 'abôt, leafy tree; Syr. 'ālē 'abbīṭē, dense woods.

(27) At the beginning of this line we may read: *Lû damqata*, be good; cf. NE 42, 7—9 (UG 30). The preceding line (NE 12, 33) shows that there is space enough for *lu-u dam-* before *-qa-ta* in l. 34. The meaning of the line is: *Be good, love me; then thou wilt be like a god.*

(28) Cf. my remarks in JHUC, No. 163, p. 50, n. 9; JAOS 25, 71, n. 1; also RBA 476.

(29) See AJSL 15, 193—214; cf. especially p. 202, n. 33, and p. 209, n. 54; also ZAT 23, 174; Skinner's *Genesis*, p. 91; UG 99. Contrast KAT³, 528, n. 3; Gunkel's *Genesis* (1910) p. 38. For Eve (Heb. *Ḥawwāh*) = serpent (Aram. *ḥiṣṣā*) see AJSL 23, 228; cf. ZDMG 42, 487, cited in EB 61.

(30) See JBL 21, 66; ZDMG 63, 519, l. 22. Cf. Gunkel, *Genesis* (1910) p. 31, conclusion of *b*.

(31) Cf. the first line of the seventh tablet of the Nimrod

epic (NE 50, 212; KB 6, 179; UG 36) and Syr. *itmallāk* (Heb. *uāi-ḫimmalēk* Neh. 5, 7).

(32) Assy. *kapādu* has no connection with Arab. *qáfada*; contrast Muss-Arnolt's dictionary, p. 421^b; BA 1, 167, n. *.

(33) Read *tašib* (not *tame*!) For secondary stems with prefixed *t* cf. above, n. 16.

(34) *Qiggišu*, at the end of l. 20 is an archaic plural in *-ū*; cf. SFG 23, 5; AG², p. 192, 5. It could, of course, stand also for the gen. sing. (cf. *e. g.* NE 142, n. 7).

(35) Cf. Amos 6, 11: For lo! JHVH commands, and the great house is dashed to pieces, and the small house to splinters, which is a misplaced gloss to vv. 14. 15:

On the day when I punish her ivory houses go to ruin;
I 'll destroy the winter house along with the summer house.

(36) There may have been minor preliminary seismic floods; see Suess' work (cited above, n. 12) p. 68.

(37) Cf. *Proverbs* (SBOT) 53, 34, and my paper on *immeru*, lamb = *hammar*, *hammal* in ZDMG 65, 107.

(38) Cf. SAI 692 s. v. *kikkīšu*.

(39) For the final *k* in *sik* see ZDMG 64, 705, n. 1; cf. above, n. 13.

(40) Cf. Is. 1, 8 and the cut on p. 162 of the translation of *Isaiah* in SBOT.

(41) Cf. the conclusion of n. 20 (thesis ix of Lehmann).

(42) See MDOG, No. 22, p. 70; cf. also No. 25, p. 74; contrast No. 31, pp. 8. 39. 44; No. 32, pp. 23. 25; No. 43, p. 19.

(43) On p. 8 of the paper cited above, n. 4; cf. *ibid.* p. 12, l. 12.

(44) See KB 6, 483; cf. UG 192.

(45) See Duval (cf. above, n. 10) § 356, c; § 368, a; Nöldeke's Syr. grammar, § 202, C.

(46) See H. Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* (Leyden, 1898) p. 444.

(47) See also *Kings* 262, n. **.

(48) JAOS 22, 10, n. 6; cf. ZDMG 63, 516, l. 42.

(49) Contrast UG 194, l. 7.

(50) See p. 9 of the paper cited above, n. 4.

(51) Contrast Schneider's explanation cited in UG 138, n. 3. As to the force necessary to pull out poles 120 feet long, after they have been imbedded in quagmire, I was informed by an engineer, who has had much experience in driving and subsequently pulling piles used for piers and wharves,

that a wooden pole, 120 feet long, having a diameter at the butt of 25 inches and at the point of 4 inches, would weigh, approximately, 5400 pounds. While such a pole can be readily driven, it requires a force equal to 25 horse-power to withdraw it when it is imbedded in mud and clay to a depth of 50 feet. Using a 25 horse-power engine to pull these poles, it is necessary to employ what is known as a triple rig or pulley. Of course, if such a rig were not used, the direct force necessary to pull the piles in question would be much greater, probably about 50 horse-power. I am indebted for information to Professor Gellert Alleman, of Swarthmore College.—The ancient cuneiform poet believed, of course, that paddles and oars were unknown in the times of Nimrod. *Cf.* EB 4478, l. 20.

(53) Not *šût*! Contrast UG 137, n. 2; *cf.* also pp. 184, 207.

(54) UG 195 still thinks that Hašis-atra gave the people of Suripak daily banquets while he was building his ship!

(55) Contrast UG 55, below.

(56) *Cf.* above, note 22.

(57) According to Jensen (KB 6, 488, below) these plugs were intended for holes in the bottom through which the ship was supplied with water! A. Jeremias, following Winckler, gives the meaningless translation: I poured water over the *šikkat* in its interior. *Cf.* above, n. 25.

(58) *Cf.* JAOS; 13, ccxliii, n. 14; 25, 71; 31, 37; BA 1, 124.

(59) *Op. cit.* *Cf.* above, p. 4.

(60) Literally *height*. It cannot be *length*.